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MEMOIR

OF

CORNELIS JOAN SIMONS,

GOVERNOR AND DIRECTOR OF CEYLON,

FOR HIS SUCCESSOR.

HENDRICK BECKER,

1707.

Translated by SOPHIA ANTHONISZ,

Dutch Translator.

With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist.

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INTRODUCTION.

This translation has been made from the original manuscript preserved in the Archives at Colombo. Unfortunately the opening pages are missing, and no duplicate copy has been kept, as in the case of many of the other "Memoirs," from which the missing portion could be supplied; but, from the short summary of the Memoir given by Valentyn (*Byzondere Zaaken*, pp. 311–317), it is apparent that nothing of much importance has been lost.

The right of the Dutch East India Company "to maintain possession of these territories," *i.e.*, the maritime districts of the Island, was a subject that formed the preamble to many of the "Memoirs," each Governor being apparently under instructions from the Supreme Authorities to put his successor in possession of the facts of the case, that he might be able to resist any attempts either on the part of the Kandyan King or of foreign powers to encroach on the rights and privileges which the Dutch had gained at so much cost. Governor Simons, in the present Memoir, devotes considerable space to this subject, and he refers to the "Instructions" left by Joan Maatzuyker to Jacob van Kittensteyn, where, he states, all the details of the subject are accurately set forth. These Instructions were compiled in 1650, six years prior to the capture of Colombo by the Dutch, who, however, had by that time been ten years established at Galle as their headquarters, and had already reduced the Portuguese to a state of desperation. Their final subjugation seemed then but a foregone conclusion. In these Instructions Maatzuyker proceeds, first, to give a brief account of the acquisition of the maritime provinces by the Portuguese, who, "taking possession of all the harbours in the Island, not only prevented the

King from communicating with other nations, but also protected themselves against disturbances from the outside world." The capture of the Portuguese possessions by the Dutch forces, in alliance with the Kandyan King, is next treated of, and last, the argument is maintained that the Dutch had the right to retain the lands conquered by them, at great cost of men and money, on account of the determined neglect and refusal of the King to fulfil his agreement to re-imburse them their expenses.

"From the above statement of facts it may be seen," says Maatzuyker, "that the General Company on its part did not fail to keep to the terms of the contract to the utmost of its ability, and in this it did not grudge the disbursement of the enormous sums which were required for these equipments and exploits, and for the maintenance of the garrisons. And it would not have delayed to further pursue the Portuguese and drive them entirely out of the Island if King Raja Sinha had, in the meantime, also made an effort to carry out his part of the obligation, which the Company had a right to expect. But, on the contrary, it appears that these victorious operations of ours made him suspicious of our people, his mind being no doubt influenced by the many Portuguese still residing at his Court. He probably feared that we might later give him more trouble than the Portuguese did before us, and he, therefore, not only failed to make the slightest effort to supply us with the merchandise agreed upon in payment of the great expenditure faithfully incurred by us to his advantage, but, on the contrary, did all he could to prevent us from obtaining it. With this purpose he had all the inhabitants of the low-country, where the cinnamon grows, carried away to the hills, and the lands devastated, in the hope that we, seeing no chance of recovering what was due to us, would leave the Portuguese and, finally, the country to themselves ...... The Company, perceiving the tactics of the King, and being no longer able to rely on his fair words, was obliged to consider the means of obtaining compensation for the large sums of

money expended by it. The quickest and surest way of attaining this object was to make the cinnamon lands in question part of its own territory, and to keep the King with his destructive agents out of them."

Of the personal history of Governor Cornelis Joan Simons very little is known beyond what may be gathered from the records and from isolated passages in different parts of Valentyn (vols. I. to V.). He was a graduate in laws (*Juris Utriusque Doctor*) of one of the Dutch universities, and came out from Amsterdam in 1690 in the ship *Maas*. He appears to have been employed at Batavia till the year 1695, when he received promotion to Negapatam, and five years later returned to Batavia as Vice-President of the *Raad van Justitie*. In 1703 he succeeded Gerrit de Heere as Governor and Director of Ceylon. Impaired health compelled him to relinquish his post after a brief rule of four years, and he returned to Europe in 1707. He was married to Anna Agnes Emilius, but there is no account of any children.

Two important events of permanent influence have always been associated with the name of Governor Simons. These are the compilation of the Tesawalamai, or Tamil Code of Laws, and the building of the Leper Asylum at Hendalla. The former work was carried out under his orders by the Dessave of Jaffnapatnam, Claas Isaaksz, and the latter was commenced during his administration, but left incomplete, to be perfected by his successor Hendrick Becker. I have referred in a note ([26]) to the story current for many years regarding the origin of this institution.

R. G. ANTHONISZ,
Government Archivist.

Colombo, September, 1914.

MEMOIR

By Governor CORNELIS JOAN SIMONS, for his Successor, Governor HENDRICK BECKER.

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THEIR Excellencies, our Authorities in the Netherlands, having observed with dissatisfaction the changes brought about this manner,[1] as stated in their letter of October 4, 1681, and again in that of November 5, 1684, have at length seriously taken into consideration the basis on which this Government could be safely established. These Resolutions appear to have been first framed in the *Meditecrende Resolutiën* of November 30, 1681, drawn up by the Council of India. But, before taking up the subject in detail, it would be well to indicate here the papers from which Your Honour could, if necessary, estimate the Company's right to take and to maintain possession of these territories.

This is very concisely and clearly stated in the Instructions of His Excellency Joan Maatsuÿker, then Superintendent here, and subsequently Governor-General of India, for his successor Governor Jacobus van Kittensteyn, bearing date February 27, 1650. It is shown there that the contract made by Admiral Adam Westerwold on behalf of the Company with Radja Singa on May 23, 1638, which was renewed with little alteration on August 6, 1649, has been the basis of the Company's rights in this Island. It is also stated there what had been done up to that time in the interests of the Company, and what had better have been left undone. All details being so accurately stated there, it is very desirable that this useful document should be brought to light once more. The original, bound in the same volume with other successive Instructions, including those of Governor Rÿkloff van Goens, jr., has in some unaccountable manner been made away with between the years 1696 and 1701 by the Company's servants at the Secretariat, by which great inconvenience has been caused.[2]

On account of the disappearance of these very useful documents, little can be known with certainty regarding the affairs in the Island until the time of the Resolutions referred to. Since the departure of Governor Maatsuÿker the capital

Colombo and the whole country of Jaffnapatnam, as well as the coast of Madura (which will be treated of later on), have been conquered by force of arms from the Portuguese, who were then our enemies,[3] and they have been made subject to the Company. The latter therefore stepped into all the rights the former exercised over the natives of this Island for many years. Some particulars of the events which occurred at that time and since are given in the "Considerations" submitted to the Supreme Government of India in 1677, by Governor Hendrick Adriaan van Reede, which were not communicated to the Secretariat here.[4] They are also referred to in the letters from Governor Laurens Pÿl, Extraordinary Councillor of India from 1687 to 1690, especially in those of June 18, 1687, and December 28, 1688, where the Company's interests in Ceylon have been carefully explained. These were considered of great importance by Their Excellencies at Batavia, as may be seen from their letter of November 15 following. All these documents merit careful perusal.

The above-mentioned Resolutions were held to explain the basis and the principles on which the Government of this Island was to be carried on. They were approved by the Authorities in the Netherlands by their letters of June 24 and November 3, 1684, and must be read in connection with the Resolutions of September 20 and 21, 1696, drawn up in the Council of India, to which reference is made in the "Considerations" mentioned above. But as both, and especially the former, have since been altered, the successive letters from the Authorities, both at Batavia and in the Netherlands, and especially that of the former of 1681 on this subject, must be carefully studied; because Their Excellencies in their letter of February 19, 1684, to the Fatherland express their dissatisfaction at the indecision and change of attitude shown by the Ceylon officials. This is particularly noticeable in the Considerations of September 2, 1683, where expressions are to be met with now for and now against Radja Singa, which can be scarcely made to agree with each other. The same is the case in the Memoirs left for their successors by Governors Laurens Pÿl and Thomas van Rhee respectively, bearing date January 28, 1692, and February 25, 1697.

All these documents are necessarily very voluminous, but as annotated copies or extracts are to be found at the Secretariat here, it will be easy to ascertain which require special attention and which may be left for perusal at convenience. Extracts have been made only lately from the *Mediteerende Resolutiën* and those of the year 1686, and from the Journal of the same year, which has been specially approved by the letter of October 22, 1690, from Batavia.

Having thus briefly referred you to the chief sources and foundation of the Company's Ordinances and Regulations, to enable you to carry on this difficult Government in accordance with the intentions of our Authorities, I may as well now state the principles which have guided me during my rule.

Firstly, having observed that all the officers here discharged their functions without any positive instructions, although these instructions were to be found at the Secretariat, and that they performed their duties according to their own caprices, which certainly was most improper, I caused to be issued to each official a copy of the "Instructions" relating to his office, as specially compiled in 1661 by His Excellency the Superintendent Rÿkloff van Goens (of blessed memory),[5] with strict orders that each officer was to state in the margin which of the rules were no longer observed, and the reason therefor. This order was obeyed by some; but others, through incapability, could not carry it out properly. I therefore made such modifications in the Instructions as seemed necessary, as for instance in those of the Dessave, the Captain of the Mahabadde, the Master Attendant, the Constable Major, &c., which have already been issued, and which are to be followed pending further orders from the Supreme Government at Batavia.

As I did not myself possess such a thorough knowledge of the Trade Department as seemed to be necessary for the purpose, a retiring officer at my request advised in the framing of Instructions for the Administrator. A copy of these Instructions, signed by me, was handed to the newly appointed Administrator on November 19 last. According to these, rules may be easily framed for the Garrison, the Bookkeeper, the Curator *ad lites*, the Cashier, the Storekeeper, and the Dispenser, so as to suit the present circumstances.

Points having been raised from time to time by outstation officials with the request for instructions, which might have been found at the places themselves if only the Instructions furnished from time to time were carefully read, orders have been issued by circular letter of January 28, 1706, that extracts of all these should be sent here, with marginal notes as to which of the rules are still observed. This order has at last been carried out, but by some so carelessly, that the papers had to be entirely re-arranged. In this way much of the ignorance that existed has been removed, and we are now also in a position to furnish such orders as may be found wanting.

It was also found that many private people left lime, bricks, timber, &c., in charge of those who had the custody of such materials on behalf of the Company, by which confusion might

easily have been caused. The Superintendent of each department has therefore received written instructions, bearing date June 29, 1705, which strictly prohibit this for the future. Such practices must not be allowed to slip in again.

These Superintendents also submit now a weekly report, showing the number of people employed under them, the place where they have been employed, and the work accomplished. Although this does not absolutely prevent the possibility of fraud, yet it is to a certain extent a check, especially where the matters are attended to by capable officers, of whom there is at present no lack.

With a view to make sure that a superfluous number of clerks (*pennisten*) is not maintained in the various offices, such as the Secretariat, the Pay Office, and the Trade Office, Mr. Huygelbosch has, on my orders and in terms of the orders of May 1, 1706, required the head of each department to submit a statement showing the occupation or daily duties of each person under him. These statements, with his marginal notes, are preserved at the Secretariat, and are registered under Colombo District No. 130¼, as also the extracts of orders made by the Authorities in the Netherlands and at Batavia relating to these matters and applicable to these offices. All these documents must be carefully specified on the occasion of a transfer of the responsible officers.

On account of the careless manner in which justice had been administered till nearly the end of 1705, which was made a matter of complaint several times in the Resolutions of Council, and in regard to which reform was urged, the Register of Orders was applied for from Batavia, and on its receipt the consecutive orders issued both from Batavia and the Netherlands with reference to the administration of justice were inserted therein. I also caused the various orders issued by placaats, which formed two heavy volumes, to be summarized under separate headings in a more convenient volume, which must every year be read in public to the people in the presence of the Fiscal Independent.

As many rash officials endeavoured to cover their reckless action by the excuse of verbal orders received from my predecessor, I made it a point, with a view to prevent such occurrences in the future, of issuing no orders of any importance without written instructions, which, together with the reports submitted on them, are registered at the Secretariat in a separate bundle. Thus, statements of the nature I have indicated, with regard to any matter, may be always verified. This has been done, for instance, with the orders for a Board of Verification, bearing date June 5, 1703, and January 3 and 14, 1704, which had been introduced here,

and was provisionally approved by Their Excellencies in their letter of June 22, 1705. Its object was to ensure a better carrying out of the orders contained in the letter of November 12, 1694, which required that in future when the Trade Accounts are closed they must be submitted to the Council, and examined there to ascertain, first, whether all the items of expenditure, &c., were lawful; second, whether the expenditure may not be reduced thereafter. All this will be found in the extract from the Resolution of Batavia of September 6, 1704, which was communicated here.

Although the existing maps of this Island are by no means correct, and they need rectifying, especially in regard to the position of the bays, avenues, &c., yet they will give a general idea of the situation of places. To facilitate this I had the map of the whole coast divided into eight small maps, which will be found in the register.

The corrections made after a more careful survey may be found in the rough sketches registered under N........ The best of these is the one embracing the greater part, if not the whole, of the Salpitty Korle, and it may serve as an example for the rest. Their Excellencies, our Authorities, have frequently and urgently requested the transmission of accurate maps, but thus far in vain. I must also state here that I am not at all satisfied with the plans of the forts of this Island; because, apart from the plans themselves being faulty, no indication is given of the configuration of the surrounding space and its relative position in regard to the horizon, which should be shown at least as far as the range of the cannon, in the same way as has been done on my orders in regard to Galle. This must be done also in regard to the other fortresses, and the plan of the side elevation (*profil*) of the chief works must also be added.

Having now indicated the sources from which a general idea of this Government may be obtained, I have also made it apparent what the real intentions of the Company are, and what it means by maintaining so many towns, forts, and lands. What is aimed at is a monopoly in cinnamon by the exclusion of all others from its trade, both Europeans and natives, and securing such profits as the East India Company have now for many years enjoyed in this Island without any interference. The various points bearing on this subject will be specially dealt with, and I will commence here by stating how, and by what means, the first purpose, namely, obtaining this sweet-scented bark, may be best achieved.

The chief points which demand attention in regard to this matter are the following, viz.: 1, friendly relations with the Court, or the King of Kandy; 2, prevention of the intrusion

of all other European nations into Ceylon ; 3, strict observance and watchful guard over the entire navigation of Ceylon.

I will also furnish here such information as may be useful to you in regard to the navigation of the bay of Madura and the *Costa d'insiado* along the opposite coast through the straits of Ramanacoil[6] and Manaar, a subject which Their Excellencies have dealt with more explicitly in their letter of August 24 last, and thus done away with a great deal of misunderstanding. Having furnished this information, I will add a few notes on the convenience and necessity of keeping up a regular correspondence with the Company's surrounding residencies, and then pass on to such points as may not be found in the existing documents.

But let us here first recapitulate the four principal points which seem to have formed the subject of consideration in the aforesaid *Mediteerende Resolutiën* as regards the Government of Ceylon, viz. :—

(1) *The Island of Ceylon*, which in itself is valuable, useful, and profitable, especially on account of its cinnamon.
(2) *The Trade*, though at present not very important, and the necessity for rice from outside.
(3) *The Fortifications*, which are too many and too large, while the military force is insufficient.
(4) *Radja Singa*, his position, his life, and his actions, and whether he would be able to prevent the Company from peeling cinnamon, and whether he would call in foreign nations against us.

The 1st point will be generally admitted. The first part of the 2nd point may be proved by the accounts, and the second part will be treated of elsewhere. The 3rd point, although based on fact at the time, has since been remedied, as shown in the Journal of 1698. The 4th point will now be dealt with at length.

Although the last point really deals with the then existing circumstances and the King who at that time was wielding the sceptre, it may be useful to apply it also to the present circumstances.

We will therefore divide this subject into three parts, viz., the state, life, and actions of Radja Singa, who died on December 6, 1687 ; of his son Wimele Dahan Soury, who died on June 4 last ; and of his son who, now under the name of ———,[7] has succeeded to the throne. The latter is only about 17 years of age, but has already on various occasions shown a violent temper,[8] directly opposite to that of his father, who was very mild, and displayed much zeal for the religion, or rather the superstitions, of the country. On

this account the priests had a great deal of influence with him, and he chiefly followed their advice. It will be of no profit to discuss here the subject of the deceased King. The question how matters are to be arranged must be settled by time, and it will depend on the humour of the young King and his choice of favourites. It may not be difficult perhaps to ascertain their sentiments and the measures they propose to adopt towards the Company, although the Singalese are on the whole very reserved. The condition of things in the time of the old Radja Singa, in that of his son Wimele Dahan Soury, and in that of the present King has been different. This may be seen from the information I obtained, at a cost of Rds. 4, from the Dessave Bolscho (now stationed at Matura), which in the time of his predecessors cost a great deal more to procure.

The courtiers are said to have equal power and authority, except the two Adigars. Besides these there are five Chief Dessaves, seven Minor Dessaves, and seven Secretaries, who, however, are seldom employed in matters of importance, and are chiefly concerned with the revenue. Each of the latter has a regiment of 900 Lascoreens under several Mohandirams. There are further six Raete Raeles, or chiefs of provinces, and fifteen Mohandirams, who have to guard the gates of the palace.

It is said that the late King carried on no correspondence with any of the neighbouring kings or nations, except that in the year 1697 some priests were brought from Arracan in two of the Company's vessels, for the purpose of reviving and promoting the religion which was nearly extirpated by King Radja Singa. These priests returned the same way after completion of their work. Last year again an embassy of five persons was sent to the Court of Madura to seek in marriage a lady of high family of the house of Tansjour, either for the late King himself or for his son. The result of these negotiations is still pending. If they be not successful the correspondence with foreign courts will probably become even less, as these ambassadors were not very well received.

The military force is said to have been entirely neglected, both during the former and the present reign. The watch at the gates of the palace is kept by Lascoreens armed with pikes. In the whole army there are about 1,000 men who know how to handle a gun, and although they possess a few cannon, no one knows how to use them. Gunpowder is made by themselves from saltpetre found in a few caves, but the sulphur has to be obtained from outside. This is a point to be remembered in case of a rupture with them (which God prevent). The elephants with tusks number about 300, and are used only for

purposes of State. They are distributed and kept at the various pagodas. Last May they were all collected together at Adam's Peak, when the late King went there to perform his devotions and to offer a massive silver *Sombreiro* and other presents. But a few horses are kept in the stud, and those kept at the palace number thirteen, which have been increased by four sent from here last July. Our ambassador was very well received, and presented with an elephant and other gifts, and he was allowed to return much earlier than usual, as will appear from his report of September 22 last. On November 30 following a return embassy was sent to me with an elephant with tusks and other costly presents, as a mark of appreciation with which the Court viewed my administration of affairs, a matter which Your Honour is well aware of, and which I trust will be borne in mind in your conduct of the Government.

Apart from the villages from which the King draws his revenue, there are said to be storehouses in several places, richly stocked, even with gold, silver, and gems.

Of born Europeans there are but few, and these consist chiefly of the French ambassador[9] and his groom and two noblemen. The groom and his son are favourites because of their knowledge of horses. The King seems to be greatly in want of a capable farrier, as he gave our ambassador to understand; and, for this reason, we requested in our letter to Batavia, of November 17 last, that one might be sent here for this purpose.

There are also, residing in the neighbourhood of the Court, two or three fugitive Dutchmen, Englishmen, and a few old Portuguese or their descendants, and among them five or six priests, who are said to have been driven away five or six years ago, and who, according to rumour, are now going about in the Company's lands, obtaining money from the poor inhabitants. This is all the information I could obtain after careful inquiry.

We will now briefly consider the point regarding the peeling of cinnamon, and whether it is in the King's power to prevent the Company from carrying on this work. In the letter of August 22, 1668, from the Authorities in the Netherlands, this was almost admitted, although there is a diversity of opinion on this subject among the high officials. What the Singalese would dare to do in the event of hostilities with the Kandyan Court, and if they had taken proper precautions by stationing guards during the time of cinnamon peeling, one could hardly say. It seems to me that if they wished to harass us they could, if not entirely, at least to a great extent, stop the work; because our peelers are sent out in groups of two, four, or six men, and are sometimes about four miles from each other, and might be easily attacked, especially when they were resting from their heavy work. This was once

done, as well known, near Trincomalee during the time of Governor van Goens. Such an occurrence would naturally frighten the peelers and cause them to look for a safe hiding place. The question was also raised as to whether the King would be able to call in foreign nations against us. This seems to be a fact that cannot be denied, because it is evident this Government will not be able to prevent such a thing, the whole of the coast between the river Waluwe and the corner of Cotiaar[10] being ruled by the King, except the island Poliandive, where the Company possesses a fortress garrisoned with 54 men. During the south-west monsoon this coast is well suited for landing, as it has several harbours and bays. All this has been explained at length in the Considerations of Hendrik Adriaan van Reede, arts. 16, 17, and 18. But as this document was chiefly compiled as an argument against the opinions of the Governors van Goens, father and son, its contents must be accepted with some reservation.[11]

Another point to be considered is whether the foreign nation called in was at peace or war with us. In the latter case both the party which made the overtures and the nation which responded to them must be treated as enemies, and the dispute decided by force of arms. But should the invited be one of our allies (which for the reasons stated above I consider quite as possible), we would have to adopt different measures, which we will consider in the next article. We will only state here that, in our opinion, it would be best to preserve with the Kandyan Court the good terms which exist between us at present, through God's mercy, and of which, as stated previously, we have lately had proofs.

These friendly relations are not based on any contract or agreement, because that made with His Majesty's grandfather Ragia Singa in the year 1638[12] does not, in the opinion of Commissioner van Reede, expressed in his letter of May 29, 1688, to Governor Laurens Pÿl, specially bind the young King. Moreover, this contract has been often broken on both sides, and has fallen much into disuse in the course of time. The friendly relations depend more, it seems, on the common interests of the Honourable Company and the Court of Kandy, which may be inferred from what was said by the Kandyan embassy on the occasion of their informing us of the death of old Ragia Singa, and from the latter's injunction in his last moments, which is quoted at length in the Colombo Journal of that date.

This may also be easily gathered by a comparison of the state of Kandy since the year 1680 with that previously, as shown in the Considerations by Commissioner van Reede concerning that country.

The late peace-loving King enjoyed the fruit of these good relations, and found the security of his kingdom in the present constitution. The conservation thereof he fully entrusted and recommended to the Company. This may be seen from the various letters or olas written to me by the Court, and especially from those of October 14, 1705, and January 26, 1706. In the former of these the promise is made that they would not fail to recognize the Company's care in the protection of Ceylon's shore, and in the latter His Majesty is said to be exceedingly pleased that, notwithstanding the opening of the harbours to the merchants of the opposite coast, they have been carefully guarded. He had sent a recommendation to this effect to the Political Council on the death of my predecessor,[13] in these specific words: "To take good care, on behalf of the Company, and to see that all stations are well guarded until the arrival of a new Regent." This will be found in the first ola received by me on July 2, in reply to the notification of my arrival.

But however plausible all this may sound, it would be hardly safe to put too much faith in such declarations, considering the furtive character of this people, who have this quality in a stronger degree than any other around here. Therefore, in compliance with the recommendations of the Supreme Government of India, contained in their letter of October 2, 1704, the Sinhalese courtiers must be received with proper caution, and their actions watched; because they have been always more or less suspected both by our Authorities and by the Ceylon Government. Moreover, as already mentioned, we cannot yet say to any certainty what attitude the present King would adopt towards the Company; and he must be carefully watched by capable spies. It must be stated, however, that a great difference has been observed between his rule and that of his father.

The Company has for many years exercised an absolute sovereignty over all the lands, towns, and fortresses which it was considered desirable to hold in direct possession, without the least opposition on the part of the Kandyans; and the various villagers on the frontiers are living in peace with the Company's subjects. Even our fugitives in the Kandyan territory have been sent back from there. From an ola received from Kandy dated June 22, 1696, and another of the year 1698, this appears to have been the case even when this Court was not so well disposed towards us. The first time 239 fugitive Chialias, and the second time 80 runaway Lascoreens from the Galle Korle, were returned to us. This proves that they no longer contested the Company's jurisdiction; although they cannot yet refrain from indulging in

their boastful and ambitious expressions in the letters and olas they write from time to time. These, however, are not of much consequence or importance, so long as we do not acquiesce in them. They have besides come down a little of late, and it will therefore be best for Your Honour to leave matters as they are, and to continue to humour them with polite and flattering terms, which they seem to appreciate very much, while the Court declares that they do not care about wealth or riches, as may be seen in the letter from Governor Pÿl to His Excellency the Commissioner van Meyndrecht of May 7, 1689, and the letter from Batavia of November 19, 1680.

On the other hand, however, no forms of address are to be used which are unworthy of us as Christians, as mentioned in the orders of Their Excellencies of May 10, 1697. Since then these titles have been more and more modified, especially after the Chamber of Seventeen, in their letter of October 23, 1700, strictly ordered their discontinuance in letters addressed to the King, on the ground that the use of these disgusting terms would be prejudicial to our interests, and may become a stumbling block later on. Such, for instance, is the expression used by Governor Pyl, that the towns, places, and lands which we possess belong to the King, and that the Dutch Governor is his Governor, &c. It is recommended, however, that the King be given in other ways as much honour as possible.

In all communications the recommendation is to be found to humour the Court as much as possible, and permission is given even to employ costly presents for the purpose. This may be seen in the letter from Their Excellencies of October 22, 1700. I think, however, that no very expensive presents are necessary, but that two or three fine Persian horses and Persian goods, some tea, porcelain, Indian preserves, &c., would be sufficient. Such have been sent again recently. The articles most pleasing to the King are Neurenberger goods, pictures, paintings, portraits, representations of sea battles, snuff, &c.

They consider it the greatest favour to be provided with passage in our ships, when they are required, for purposes of conveyance to the opposite coast or further north. The Chamber of Seventeen considers this a matter which must affect the Company's interests, but Their Excellencies at Batavia, not without reason, look upon it in a somewhat different light, as appears from their letters of May 22 and June 22, 1705. Your Excellency will learn there what ought to be done in such circumstances, and they may be obliged according to instructions, if the requests are not made too often.

As the officers of the Kandyan Court, on account of their lucky and unlucky days, are always in the habit of making great delays, they must be asked to give us ten or twelve days' warning when a hoy or sloop is needed. If they apply for one or more large vessels the request must be refused under some pretext, such as having to write to Batavia for orders, &c. The Instructions from Batavia of April 16, 1700, are in agreement with those from the Netherlands of September 7, 1696, on this subject.

The ceremony with which the Kandyan embassies are received according to their rank will be found described in the Journals preserved at the Secretariat here. These must be consulted when an embassy is expected. As these people have such a great opinion of themselves, they must not be made more conceited by excessive honour paid to them. But on their arrival they must be courteously received at Wolvendaal,[14] and presented with such trifles as snuff, tea, &c., which they might apply for to the Dessave; and they must be made as comfortable as possible.

Your dealings with this Court except under special circumstances will be limited to the two following occasions, viz., when it is time for the cinnamon peelers to go to the forest, the King must be communicated with for permission to peel the cinnamon in his territory also. This is according to old custom, as may be seen from the letter from Batavia of August 13, 1695, where at the same time the tenor of the letter of July 21, 1693, from the Chamber of Seventeen will be seen. In the latter the making of such requests was disapproved, being prejudicial to future interests.

The other point is of the same nature, viz., permission is to be asked of the Kandyan King to transport the elephants along the Galle road, via Putulang and further districts outside the Company's territory to Jaffnapatnam. It has not been the custom, however, to wait for a reply to this application. This did not pass unobserved, however, as may be seen from the olas of March 12, 1690, and June 22, 1696, where the King has shown himself somewhat sensitive on this point. The practice must, however, be continued, unless it should cause any rupture, in which case greater precautions must be taken.

If the foregoing points be carefully attended to, there is no doubt the Company will be able to maintain as secure a peace with the Kandyans as if a contract had been made and the conditions written down; because, as stated in the letter of Governor Joan Maatsuÿker to the Netherlands of January 3, 1650, one can but little depend on such treaties. This was confirmed by the Commissioner van Meydrecht in his letter

of May 29, 1688 ; and on December 28 following he recommended the leaving of matters in their present state, with the advice to endeavour to preserve peace by kindness, courtesy, and the giving of presents, according to the praiseworthy example of Governor Maatsuÿker. The Authorities in the Netherlands had written previously, on February 19, 1684, to Batavia that no other terms of peace were required with the Singalese but those which existed at the time.

And the Chamber of Seventeen showed by their letter of August 27, 1694, that they were still of the same opinion, and that a contract with the new King would not bring the Company any more rest or peace.

The Authorities in Batavia also, after numerous fruitless efforts made, were at last convinced of the inutility of endeavouring to establish a permanent peace by means of a Contract, seeing that the Singalese were not in earnest about it. The instructions in the letter of April 4, 1700, were to refuse to give up the draft of the Contract, if the Singalese again demanded it, under the pretext that it had been sent to the Netherlands.

This salutary order has relieved us here of much trouble, and, in order to avoid any future complications, no hopes of peace by means of a Contract should be held out to the Authorities without good foundation for it. No notice should be taken of verbal proposals to that effect made by the Kandyan ambassadors. As stated by Their Excellencies in their letter of August 23, 1686, they found nothing in the private communications that had not been said by other such flatterers previously ; and nothing ever came of them. Care must also be taken to avoid giving occasion for persons of high rank being sent to us, because it will at least involve the giving of large presents.

Great watchfulness will also be needed in case of the arrival of the priests, called Sangatares, in the Company's territory at Calane, about four miles from here, and in the Matura district, which on several occasions both previous to and during my residence here has caused great trouble. How to act in such cases is shown in the letter from Their Excellencies of September 24, 1699.

From time to time Europeans have fallen into the hands of the Kandyans, and are kept in the King's territory against all right and reason. Several of these have taken refuge with us, who, notwithstanding the objections of the Kandyan Court, have not been sent back to them ; wherein we have acted in accordance with the orders of November 13, 1683, and again of September 30, 1703, with regard to an Englishman named Willem Herbert and his son, who, without the

knowledge of the Kandyans, were to be sent to Batavia or to the Netherlands.

Having treated of everything of a special nature relating to Kandy, we will now proceed to the subject of the navigation of European vessels around this Island, and consider the question of the possibility of their infringing the Company's rights on the seaboard by invasion, and of the measures to be taken to prevent it, in accordance with the orders of our Authorities. That many other nations have cast their eyes on this Island, since the expulsion of the Portuguese, has been proved more than once, and especially in 1672 in the case of the French.

We will first consider what ought to be done to prevent these nations, and especially our rivals under the name of Allies, from squatting in this Island. We have already shown that the Kandyan King would have the power, if he was so inclined, to call in other nations to his aid, although not without violating the Company's rights. We will now see what our Authorities have said on this point, and what instructions have been issued regarding the matter.

The Company's rights in this Island have their origin in the Contract of the year 1638, in which it was promised the delivery of all the cinnamon to the exclusion of all other nations, in return for our help and protection and on payment of our expenses already incurred and to be thereafter incurred. But this Contract does not prohibit any other European power from settling here, and, moreover, the Contract was broken by hostilities on both sides shortly after it was made. As pointed out in the important letter from Commissioner van Reede of June 18, 1687, this Contract is null and void unless it be renewed; and this we have not succeeded in having done, so far. Our claim for reimbursement of the excessive expenditure incurred by us is therefore founded chiefly on our conquest of the Portuguese, and on this account we are entitled to the territory we have conquered, which is proved by our direct possession. This opinion would appear to have been held by Commissioner van Reede when again writing his letter of November 28, 1688. We are quite able to hold our own against the King of Kandy or any rivals in the places we are already in occupation of, and no one would be able to settle within reach of our fortresses. But, if anyone did so in the lands of Cotiaar and Tamblegamme, where we no longer have garrisons, we would not be able to keep them out, because of the large area of the bay of Trincomalee, as pointed out by Commissioner van Reede in his letter of June 18, 1687. But the orders of Their Excellencies, contained in their letter of April 26, 1700, to urge the subjects

of Radja Singa, who are habitually lazy, to keep out any of our rivals, and, if necessary, to command them to do so, is, be it said with due reverence, impracticable except in the places where we have garrisons. The two districts just mentioned, and several others in the King's territory, are miles away from any of our settlements, and these are therefore open to our rivals.

The safest plan would therefore be to base our claims on the conquests made in open warfare on our public enemies. But we must consider here in what these consisted, how far they extend, what must be included in them, and in what way they may serve our purpose.

As stated previously, the Contract referred to has not only been broken several times, but it has also become inoperative by the death of King Radja Singa ; besides which neither he nor his successors ever showed a sincere inclination to renew it, notwithstanding the many efforts made in this direction by Governors Hulft and Pÿl. The Company, however, is beyond question entitled to exercise the same rights over all the towns, forts, and dependencies which the Portuguese had, having obtained these by force of arms. If we could prove that we had become masters of all the bays or seaports on the borders of this Island, as explained by Governor Maatsuÿker in his Instructions, the Company would have the incontestable right of opposing all foreign nations from settling in this Island, either by amicable means or by force of arms.

We may take it as beyond doubt that the Governor in question (Maatsuÿker) founded his assertion on good grounds, and his reasons for saying what he did may be found in the thombos compiled by the Company and partly by the Portuguese at Colombo. If these latter were still in existence they would be authentic and irrefragable proof of the fact ; but alas, these most valuable records were burned by the then Secretary, Mr. Gerrit van Toll, upon the verbal orders, as he says, of Governor de Heere of blessed memory.[15] This will be seen in the letter from the Supreme Government of September 30, 1706. It is true that the grant by Don Joan Perepandear, describing himself as King of Ceylon, containing various extracts from these thombos, is still preserved at the Secretariat ;[16] but that document itself, although so highly recommended by Governor van Goens in his Instructions of April 12, 1675, is nothing more than a copy of an unsigned copy made on April 2, 1657, and therefore of little value when required to prove our right to foreigners. The Ordinances added thereto, by which Philip III., King of Spain, had ordered an accurate description of the lands of Ceylon, are however

very suggestive, and prove with additional force the great value of the said thombos. The articles of the Treaty with the Portuguese on their surrender of the towns, forts, &c., will also not help us in this matter, because none but that relating to the capitulation of Colombo is extant, in which no special mention is made of any of the dependencies.

Our best title, therefore, is our long possession of the chief harbours of this Island, even though the Company did not think it worth while to garrison some of the smaller ones. Great vigilance must be exercised in dealing with strangers who come here, because there are many conspirators who, under the name of Allies, endeavour to work mischief against the Company. No ship must be allowed to enter any harbour but those of Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalee, where the necessary fuel, drinking water, and small quantities of provisions may be issued to them. In other respects they must be dealt with as instructed in the letters of our Supreme Authorities, both in the Netherlands and at Batavia. Among the former are those of April 25, 1698 (lost here), October 30, 1699, February 19 and June 23, 1700, and July 23, 1701. With the latter are those of December 14, 1684, June 27 and July 2, 1685, written to Ambon and Banda, which were approved by the Chamber of Seventeen, and also an extract of a letter from the Netherlands of June 21, 1702, which is the best guide in such matters.

According to the letters referred to, all Europeans must be treated in the same manner, and discouraged as much as possible from coming to this Island; with a difference, however, in the case of the ships of the several European Powers, or of the recognized and established Companies, who are not so likely to carry on smuggling, &c., when admitted to our harbours as the interlopers and adventurers. These latter have but little reputation to lose, and their vessels are mostly manned by natives, by whose aid they find the best opportunity for smuggling and carrying on other nefarious practices: especially so is this the case with those from China, Maccauw, and such places. Amongst these must be included the Portuguese, who may easily obtain assistance from some of the inhabitants. It is the duty of the Fiscal and his officers to guard against this, and, moreover, when such vessels are in the harbour, to send double patrols through the town. And the Dessave must closely watch the people, because there are many Roman Catholics among them, who must not be allowed to leave the fortress.

In terms of the orders from the Chamber of Seventeen of September 12, 1698, the ships of interlopers[17] are not to be saluted. Those of the various Powers must be saluted with

the same number of guns from the Admiral's ship or from the Fort, and those of foreign Companies with two less ; but the fewer such ships that come here the better it will be for the Company. This, I believe, is all that is necessary to say on the subject of invasion by foreign nations. With regard to the navigation by the natives little need be said here, because it has pleased our Authorities to again close the harbours of this Island ; and everything that has to be observed in the carrying out of this order is embodied in our Resolution of November 8 last, and in the instructions to our cruisers. We trust that all the information necessary may be found there.

What effect the strict execution of the above orders of our Supreme Authorities will have on the kings of the neighbouring countries cannot yet be foreseen, as the King of Kandy and the Naik of Madura are minors, and the old Theuver is utterly debauched. The time seems favourable to recover the prerogatives which the Company had previously possessed. For this purpose officials would be required who understand the character of the native princes and of their favourites, especially in Madura, where there are daily quarrels with the native Regents. All this is stated more at length in the Memoir by Mr. Nicolaas Welters of October 20, 1705, which I may well recommend here for perusal, as it has been specially approved by the Supreme Government by letter of September 3, 1706.

These Instructions referred to, together with those of his predecessors, and all other documents regarding this matter, are registered and preserved at the Secretariat. Among them is the contract made with Bramin Appa Pulle, which though not signed by either party, is however sufficiently legalized by a letter from the late Naik of Madura bearing date August 19, 1689. I would refer to these documents.

Meantime it is a great relief that Their Excellencies at Batavia have been pleased to give explicit instructions, in their letter of August 24 last, with regard to the navigation in the bay on the opposite coast and the passages at Ramancoil and Manaar, should these be again attempted by Europeans. And although no distinction appears to be made between the channels and the above-mentioned bay, it seems to me that the intention is that if any vessel of a European nation wished to pass, it must be made to sail close under the Company's fortresses at Manaar rather than at Ramancoil. Our rights in the latter place seem to depend entirely on contracts of monopoly, which need not be respected by a third party. In their letter of July 2, 1700, our Authorities in the Netherlands also do not seem to depend much on these, and suggest that the Company's prerogatives and possessions

in India should be based on a firmer and safer foundation than contracts of monopoly; and Their Excellencies at Batavia declared in their letter of October 1, 1699, that these contracts are of little value, although the Company had stipulated for the trade to the exclusion of all others.

I feel I ought to recommend here a careful perusal of the letter from His Excellency (Maatsuyker) bearing date November 23, 1687, to the Governor and the Council here, in which the subject of these passages has been dealt with at length, and where it is stated how far our rights with regard to them has to be respected by others, and also what procedure is to be followed in the despatch of our own vessels in regard thereto.

However diverse may have been the opinions of different rulers in regard to the subject of peace or war with the surrounding nations, it may be considered an undeniable axiom that peace is not only more advantageous to the Company, but even that war must be considered as positively prejudicial, and that it is not to be entered upon but in the utmost necessity; as, for instance, in case the Company should again be robbed of its prerogatives, as has been done several times by the Theuver. Of what use therefore are contracts, if one has not the power, or, having it, dare not employ it, to compel other parties to fulfil their obligations?

To what extent Governor de Heere differed from others in this matter is shown in his letter to Batavia of November 27, 1699, and in the reply thereto from the Supreme Government contained in their letter of November 22, 1700.

Whether the maintenance of peace is so very necessary is a subject for consideration; for, apart from the fact that the rules of government observed in the Courts of Kandy and Madura and by the Theuver Lord vary considerably, we have no valid contract with Kandy, nor is there one with the Court of Madura that might not be subject to contravention. But our contracts with the Theuver are very clear, and he must be made to observe them more rigidly than ever; so that the Company may not lose its authority on the opposite coast. All matters, however, must be handled with great caution, and nothing done without instructions from Batavia.

I have said enough in regard to these matters; so we will now pass on to the subject of the general government, beginning with the capital Colombo. What is said with regard to this place will apply also to the subaltern stations.

The position of this fortress is well known, and its defects have been carefully pointed out in the report of Mr. Toorze,[18] with marginal notes by Governor de Heere, bearing date October 28, 1697, and which I had placed among the secret documents.

During my residence nothing special was done to the fortress except the raising of the point *den Briel*;[19] because when I came here it lay so open that one could go easily in and out. For this reason the expenditure on account of fortifications from that time until the last closing of the accounts, *i.e.*, a period of about 9 years, has been no more than Rds. 9,040⅛.

As Your Honour is aware, there are several institutions here. The first is the Political Council;[20] for the Council of Ceylon[21] is seldom called together. Who the members are which compose it and their order of precedence is known to you. Further information on this head may be found in the letter from the Authorities in the Netherlands bearing date December 11, 1704. The course to be taken in the event of circumstances arising to necessitate any extraordinary conduct of affairs is specially set out there. In compliance with orders from Batavia dated October 19, 1696, all letters received from there as well as from the Netherlands must be opened and read in the Political Council. At outstations it will be sufficient if the letters are sent for perusal to two or three of the presiding members, and the other members are required, by Resolution of August 17, 1705, to read such letters and documents at the Secretariat, to obviate their remaining in ignorance of the state of affairs. This is an excellent rule, and must be carefully observed.

Care must be taken that no documents belonging to the Secretariat are burnt on any verbal order, as was done by Mr. van Tol. A list of the papers lost or burnt during his time, bearing date February 15, 1705, is preserved at the Secretariat.[22] All documents must be preserved in a careful and methodical manner, and those of importance must be registered as soon as possible. None are to be issued without the special orders of the Governor, and even then only on delivery of a receipt. This rule, however, need only apply to the Dessave, as the other members may read the papers at the Secretariat.

Our Supreme Authorities have repeatedly complained of the length of the Ceylon letters, which must therefore in future be indicted as briefly and concisely as possible, and also furnished with marginal notes, in which must only be mentioned what has transpired since the despatch of the last letter to Batavia. In these letters no unfounded accusations must be brought against the Company's servants of good reputation.

The pay accounts must be closed yearly, and be prepared in due time to admit of their being examined either in Council or by the Board of Verification. It must be ascertained whether the amounts entered in the trade accounts to the debit of the pay accounts are correct. The account of the

Curator *ad lites* in regard to the inventorization, sale, and registration of estates of deceased Company's servants must be verified by two special Commissioners, in compliance with the orders of the Supreme Government by Resolutions of April 27 and June 29, 1684. A written report on these must be submitted, and as regards the salary due to deceased officers, the rules laid down in the letter from Batavia of April 13 last must be strictly followed, because the former Curator *ad lites* acted rather arbitrarily in this matter.

The number of men which it has pleased the Company to employ here is specified in the Regulations of December 29, 1692, and December 27, 1699, and also the promotion they are entitled to, which regulations must be strictly complied with. In terms of the orders of August 22, 1702, the sale of pay dues (*soldy rekeningen*) must be guarded against.

What has been stated in regard to the pay accounts may also be partly applied to the trade accounts; and as ample instructions have been issued to the Administrator, I would refer you to those instructions.

Of the Court of Justice Your Honour has been a member, and is therefore well aware of its constitution and manner of procedure, from which no President or Councillor should lightly deviate. On my arrival here I found great confusion in respect of this, and therefore recommended to the President and other members the study of the Statutes of Batavia and the Placaats, which have been more than four times proclaimed here, and within the limits of which they must keep. The proctors especially must be made to do their duty, and they must be required to commence proceedings in proper form and according to the procedure laid down. If they do not know the manner of procedure they must be corrected by the Secretary. The proctors and the Secretary must not be allowed to exceed their legitimate charges in their declaration, but they must keep strictly to the rules printed in Batavia and preserved at the Secretariat here.

There is a very useful library in the Council Chambers. As it was not very well looked after, I had a catalogue made of its contents, and put them in charge of the Usher of the Court, who is now responsible for the books.

Of the lesser colleges little need be said. The members are changed yearly on the anniversary of the capture of Colombo.[23] The officers of the Orphan Chamber, however, are not so changed, because they need to have a knowledge of matters concerning the orphans' estates, and it seldom happens that any one opposes their continuance in office. The officers of this College and of the Court of Justice receive 40 Rds. a year as cloak money.

The matter of religion is carefully and zealously looked after by the ministers, although the people are rather negligent regarding attendance at the services. So much so, that even the weekly sermons had to be discontinued, and the catechism classes have also come into desuetude, although they must be considered to be beneficial for the native children.

One of the members of the Political Council is present at the meetings of the Consistory as Commissioner.[24] He submits a report of the proceedings, especially those which happen to concern the Political Council. This is in compliance with the instructions to be found in an extract of a letter from the Supreme Government bearing date May 14, 1694. The other members of the Consistory are the clergymen in office, who act as president and scriba, the elders, and two deacons. Your Excellency is most likely aware that no formal meetings can be held without the presence of the elders and the deacons. To these worthy ministers of God, who deserve all praise and honour, may well be applied the testimony in the words of Scripture: "And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart."—*Acts II., 46.* "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."—*Acts IV., 12.*

On my arrival here I found that no *Scholarchal*[25] meetings had been held from November 6, 1698, till August 8, 1703, which caused no little confusion in the management of the schools. The schools themselves had fallen into decay, and even the materials of those that had tumbled down had been robbed by the servants of those whose duty it was to see to the repairs. All this may be found stated in detail in my "Considerations on the Dessavony," bearing date January 28, which is registered at the Secretariat.

The deacons here are also curators of the Orphanage, which is further managed by a matron and a schoolmaster. Whether it would not be advisable to appoint one or two outside Regents is a point for consideration, as it may be seen from the reports of April —, 1704, and March 10, 1707, how careless the deacons have been in the distribution of funds, and how they have doled out charities to many who, according to the rules of the Reformed Church, should have been excluded. I read with surprise that during my illness the deacons Jenner, Crytsman, and Hals stated in a certain written excuse for their acts that they had obtained my authority for the issue of funds to various poor people. This is utterly untrue. I would have expressed my resentment of this unwarranted statement, especially against Jenner, who was compiler of the document,

and is the most impertinent officer I ever met here, but that I had to restrain myself on account of my health. I must also make mention here of the case, still pending, of one Van den Berg, who has been accused of embezzling diaconate funds during a change of deacons. This case ought to be decided now.

The Leper Asylum,[26] on which already twice the amount granted by Their Excellencies has been spent, has given me a great deal of worry; the more so because owing to my illness I was not able to inspect the place myself, although I did so just before I was taken ill. The present condition of the unfortunate patients is described in the report of the Commissioners, who were assisted by the chief surgeons of the vessels lying in the harbour. It appears that our late chief surgeon had somewhat exaggerated the state of affairs. I hope this is true, especially for the sake of those who were summarily dismissed on his hasty report.

In accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government contained in their letter of August 13, 1704, the military have been drilled on the new Instructions published in the year 1688 in the work of His Highness the Prince of Orange (of blessed and illustrious memory). This drill has produced very satisfactory results, not only as regards the handling of the musket and fire-lock, but also of the pikes and hand granades. For practice with each of these weapons a hundred men have been chosen, who could give proofs of their progress at the next parade. Each division must be exercised twice a week, so that the men may not get out of practice, the complaint being that many of the officers take so little interest in their duties, in spite of all urging, that it has become necessary to make each of them drill his own company at least once a week. Weather permitting, the daily parade also must not be neglected. My orders as regards the guards and the correction of military delinquents may be found in the Regulations of January 10 and August 10, 1706, preserved at the Secretariat here. The latter were based on the Batavian Resolutions of January 4 of the preceding year.

The Arsenal has been put into proper order, and the muskets all sorted and arranged. Careful supervision must be exercised over it, and no excessive issues must be allowed. There will be no difficulty in regard to this if the rules laid down by me on this subject are strictly observed. They may be found in the Resolution of April 6, in the annexures to the Regulations of January 10 and August 10, 1706, and in the Instructions for the Captain of the Military of May 6 last, where the issue of lunt was fixed at 30 bundles for each guard, in addition to one fathom of Dutch lunt. This quantity will be quite sufficient if each officer takes the trouble to look after his supply.

When captains of each respective department submit their return of damaged and unserviceable muskets, new ones must be issued on receipt obtained, and the latter must be carefully kept until the next quarterly issue to the garrison takes place. By this close supervision the expenses of the arsenal for the year 1706 have been 2,356 guilders less than for the preceding year.

The subject of munitions of war and provisions has also been considered, and lists were drawn up of the quantity of bacon, meat, salt, rice, &c., required yearly, as may be seen from our Resolutions of July 27, 1702, and April 26, 1706. Reports have also been submitted by the Captains Hans Hendrik Bergman, J. C. Toorzee, and J. J. de Roy, dated June 19, 1706, regarding the broken machinery and instruments. These reports are preserved at the Secretariat.

Owing to my illness I was not able to personally inspect the arsenal, not having left the house for 5½ months. I therefore commissioned the Constable-Lieutenant Neber to do so, and, apart from the Instructions bearing date September 30, 1706, handed to him, I gave him special instructions to see that everything was properly arranged. I also asked the Captains of each respective department to hold careful inspections, of which I always received favourable reports; so that I hope everything will be found in good order; otherwise the said Constable-Lieutenant must be held responsible.

As Your Honour is aware, naval fittings ordered out from the Fatherland come very expensive to the Company here. Great economy must therefore be practised in regard to this, as was done during my rule. I would refer you to the detailed Instructions for the Master Attendant given by me under date September 30, 1706, and would only state here that he has also been entrusted with the supervision of the felling of timber at present carried on in the forests of Welichere.[27] From a rivulet at Negombo leading to these forests a canal has been cut leading through inaccessible marshes. It is 400 roods long and 1¾ rood wide, and its banks are well secured; so that it will be serviceable for many years. It might be extended another 200 roods, the work being done by the natives at small expense. As Your Honour is aware, the wood is fetched from the forests along this canal in pontoons, on which some hired labourers are employed. In the felling of timber some of the Company's slaves are employed, in addition to 22 natives. This number is quite sufficient for the work, as the pontoons are able to make but one trip a day, whereas formerly from Mabol,[28] where all the wood has now been felled, they used to make two trips a day. The Master Attendant must see that when a new square is marked out for felling, the

precious cinnamon bushes and the trees suitable for timber are marked separately, so that they may not be cut down and mixed up with the firewood. General complaints are heard about the scarcity of firewood, and this must necessarily be provided for.

What vessels are at present maintained by this Government, and what charters they bear, will be found stated in the transport.[29] The large vessels must not be kept here later than March 20, and all vessels, even the hoys, for the opposite coast, must be despatched during the months of May, June, July, and August, to be ready to bring us salt, lime, and nely during the good monsoon.[30] The *Chialoups*, though 72 feet long, may be used for this purpose even during the bad monsoon,[31] because they draw two feet less water than the hoys, and therefore not only go better against the current, but may also be easier unloaded.

I am not able to give any special information regarding the ship-building yard and the smiths' workshops, because, as I have just stated, I was confined to the house for nearly six months. Your Honour has most likely already been informed how far the sloops which were being built in the dock have been completed since my last visit to the place. I have hopes that the work will be carried out expeditiously, because I know the Superintendent Jan Arentsz[32] to be a very capable and zealous officer, well qualified to direct his labourers; and he has given me entire satisfaction on all occasions. The Superintendent of the carpenters' yard has only this year arrived from Batavia, so that he has yet to acquire the knowledge which can be gained only by experience, and I hope that you will find his work satisfactory.

The Superintendent of the smiths' forge, who also supervises the work of the lock-smiths, brassfounders, and coopers, has been always known to me to be a good, faithful servant of the Company; but, owing to old age, he is somewhat indulgent to his men, so that the work has not proceeded as well as I had desired and expected. It was therefore agreed in Council to allow him an assistant, and I trust the work will thus make more progress.

As Your Honour is aware, the Superintendent of Public Works has been lately granted the rank of Ensign. He has the supervision of the Company's slaves, and has charge of all stores. What they consist of Your Honour will have seen already from the "Transport." A report furnished by the Captain and Constable Major J. Christiaansz Toorzee, dated March 10, 1705, shows how and where the Company's slaves are employed. This has also been communicated to the Supreme Government by our letter of March 11, 1705. From

it may be seen how during the last ten years the number of slaves has decreased and how few have arrived from Malabar or elsewhere to replace them, and it may therefore be imagined how difficult it was to carry on the necessary work. I have considered the means to obviate this difficulty ; one of these was to have the work which was formerly done by slaves, now performed by natives who are bound to serve the Company. Reference will be made to this under the head of Land Service.

A list of the Company's warehouses, arsenals, and stores was made by Captain Toorzee, with marginal notes as to the quantity of stores each could hold. This report, dated July 17, 1706, is annexed for Your Excellency's information.

About all of these buildings still covered with shingles (*platten*) there were complaints of leakage. It was therefore agreed after due consideration in Council to have them all vaulted, first strengthening the weak walls with buttresses. The plan here followed was that of my predecessor Governor de Heere, and it will perhaps be necessary to do the same with the two iron and nail stores, which however will require a large quantity of baked bricks, which it will take some time to obtain. But the repair of these two stores is not so very urgent, as there is nothing perishable stowed in them.

The number of the Company's dwelling-houses, also mentioned in the report, is now sufficient to comfortably accommodate all the Company's servants.[33] These houses must be yearly inspected by special Commissioners, and a written report submitted, so that the necessary repairs may be done in proper time, and the buildings not allowed to fall into such a general state of decay as they were on my arrival here. This was chiefly due to the neglect of the Public Works Department.

The first building I had repaired was the Company's hospital; and I also had built a new prison, and completed the slaves' hospital, to which a tile roof was added, so that the unfortunate creatures may be protected against wind and rain.

At least 20 horses must be kept in the Company's stables, as three four-in-hands are required for Singalese ceremonies, as will appear from the Journal of Governor de Heere on his first visit to Jaffnapatnam in July, 1697.[34] The others are required for Commissioners and other officials. But to prevent their being allowed to stand idle, I have had them used in the transport of Company materials, for which otherwise bulls or elephants were used.

Since I charged Captain Bergman with the supervision of these stalls, he has seen that the saddler prepared monthly eight or nine cow-hides, furnished by the butchers, which supplied the ordinary requirements of the stables, and even left a surplus for the use of the arsenal and the outstations.

In regard to applications from the outstations generally, in compliance with the circular letter of October 5, 1706, care must be taken that besides the necessary provisions a large quantity of smiths' coal is kept in stock, because it is very difficult to use the ordinary charcoal for heavy ironwork, while the latter is also much more expensive.

The subject of the gunpowder mill has been discussed at length in Your Honour's presence both in Batavia and here in Council, where the proposals of Captain Toorzee were considered, and definite rules were laid down on November 8 last, so that it is not necessary to state them here. Cochin must be yearly provided with gunpowder, but the quantity returned from there as unserviceable must be examined by special Commissioners to see whether it has been mixed with small stones or coarse sand. With a view to prevent such accidents as lately occurred, not more than 2,000 lb. of gunpowder must be kept at the mill, and the rest always stored away in the *martavanen*[35] in the cellars, for which the Constable-Lieutenant is responsible according to his instructions. When a quantity of powder was to be stowed away, I had it tried by special Commissioners in my presence, and a note made as to how many feet high it exploded, and when and where it was stored in the cellars.

Nothing of special note regarding the Officers of the Burghers,[36] the Clerks (*Pennisten*), and the Artizans need be stated here; nor need the Fire Brigade and the duties of the Wardens both of the fort and the town be specially mentioned here. They have received their instructions, and know how to act and where the materials for the extinguishing of fire are to be found. The appliances were during my rule obtained from Cochin, while others were made locally. Inquiry must be made as to whether some of the latter have not been completed yet.

No copper coin or ducatons, nor any other specie outside the currency, is to be accepted for bills of exchange, especially on the Fatherland and Batavia, nor must these or gold ducats and rupees be made current at a fixed rate. *Vide* letter from Batavia of October 29, 1704.

The Company here can easily avoid taking any capital on interest, except in the case of funds of charitable institutions, so that the money may be secure. But the widow Strick may deposit her money with the Company, notwithstanding that her son is the Cashier, because she is a woman with large capital.

The Company's revenue is yearly farmed out in the month of August after a special meeting (of the Council) held for the purpose, in which the conditions are revised, and any necessary alterations made which may be deemed to be to the interest of the Company.

The question of the supply of rice and nely is one of the most difficult problems for the Ceylon Government. If it cannot be obtained from Negapatnam, it must be applied for in proper time from Canara, Tondi, and Bengal, because Arracan and Pegu are too far away, and we sometimes do not hear from those places for a whole year.

The assaying of weights and measures is usually commenced in the early part of June in the presence of the Fiscal Independent, and for this purpose the weights and measures from the Dessavony are brought in special chests to the Council Chambers. Those unwilling to send them must be compelled to do so by the orders of the Dessave, who also collects any fines which are to be paid on this head ; and his functions must be kept distinct from those of the Fiscal Independent, to avoid all confusion. When the town was still fortified,[37] and Wolvendaal was uninhabited, a large space of unoccupied ground remained, and little notice was taken whether this was afterwards taken possession of by unauthorized persons. This was remedied later, as may be seen from the report of the Commissioners Toorzee, Da Costa, and Emans, bearing date March 24, 1706, and is also shown in a little map made for the purpose.

The above measures I consider have been of no small service to the Company, because now the Coast Chitties, Parruas, and Moors under their respective heads have each got their special location, and are together placed under the Dessave, who keeps a special roll of them, and if necessary could order a good many of them to take their turn at the public works.

The extent of the Dessavony need not be mentioned here, as it may be seen from the map. A few months previous to my illness I framed the instructions for the Dessave, containing all that I considered necessary in the interests of the Company. These instructions were dated January 28 this year. And I also sent my Considerations on this subject to the Government of Batavia, at their request. Yet I would mention a few special points here, because, as stated by Governor Rÿkloff van Goens, Senior, in his Instructions of April 12, 1675, the weal or woe of Ceylon depends greatly on the government of the country ; and this sentiment seems to be shared by the Government of Batavia, as shown in the letter of October 2, 1683. I have, therefore, devoted all my strength to this service.

I refer to these two documents, as the matter regarding Negombo requires some elucidation, especially on the point of the enumeration of the inhabitants of that district, as it must be ascertained whether they have been enrolled for the performance of their services. When this is finished a complete *Hoofd Thombo*[38] will have been compiled, which, however, will become authoritative only after two or three years, when

upon the report of the Commissioners Your Honour will have the thombo renewed and the duties of the inhabitants revised.

All that is to be said as regards the great and the small elephant hunt is contained in the instructions for the Dessave.

I therefore pass on to the subject of the peeling of cinnamon, which may be looked upon as the most important work in Ceylon. I might not have been able to treat of this subject at length were it not that only this Spring I framed instructions for the Captain or Overseer of the Cinnamon. They were compiled chiefly from the Instructions of His Excellency Admiral R. van Goens, to which I added such matters as seemed necessary. I have also since ordered the Captain to submit by way of report a statement as to how many men were sent to the various districts, as well as to the King's territory, and how many *pingos* [39] were peeled in each place. To this, in compliance with my verbal orders, he must also add a statement of the condition of the forests and the quantity of this spicy bark obtained from each. This has been often omitted, but it is well to insist on the rule being observed. It is also necessary that the Captain should place some guards to see that none of the cinnamon bushes are cut down for firewood or fence sticks, as I have seen it done myself beyond Milagre.[40] Notices against this offence might also be put up.

Nothing special need be said regarding Calpentyn, as you yourself took part in the framing of the rules at the closing of the harbours. Particulars regarding Putulang may be found in the private letter from the *Opperhoofd* Engelbert van Rhee,[41] where its present condition and the castes that have settled there have been described in detail.

Although it was my intention to treat at length of the various outstations, for which there would be no want of material, especially with regard to Jaffnapatnam, I cannot do this because I have to go on board to-morrow, and wish to leave this completed and signed. I may do so with an easy conscience, because by this time the subordinate officers will have received their instructions from their superiors. If, however, against my expectations, I should have to land again at Galle in consequence of physical weakness which cannot bear the sea voyage, I shall be at liberty to serve you with advice on any point that may arise.

Wishing Your Excellency God's blessing in this new rule,

I remain, Sir,
Your humble and affectionate
friend and servant,
(Signed) C. J SIMONS.

Submitted in Council,
Colombo, December 16, 1707.

NOTES.

[1] About a leaf or more from the commencement is wanting in the manuscript, which probably contained some recital of events or circumstances to which this passage refers.

[2] A volume containing, not the original, but a copy of the "Instructions" of Maatzuyker here referred to, bound "with other successive Instructions, including that of Governor Rycklof van Goens, Junior," has been discovered in the Archives here. This is probably the volume referred to, which must have been mislaid or lost sight of at the time Governor Simons compiled his Memoir (1707).

[3] The treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands, of July 30, 1669, terminated all hostilities between the two nations, so far at least as Ceylon was concerned. By that time the Dutch had conquered every fortress and foothold of land which had belonged to the former power, and when Simons was Governor of Ceylon the Portuguese were no longer present in the Island as a hostile force.

[4] Copious extracts from these "Considerations" appear in Valentyn (vol. V., pp. 247–285).

[5] These "Instructions," or at least the chief of them, have been translated into English and published in the present series.

[6] The ancient southern limits of the "Teuver's Country" (Madura), called by the Portuguese *costa da enscada*, coast of the bay. "De Zuidelyke oude Limiten van des Teuvers Land, by de Portugesen Costa D'Inciado genaamd."—*Valentyn, Byzondere Zaaken*, p. 235.

[7] The name assumed by this King was Sri Vira Parakkama Narendra Sinha.

[8] Valentyn also says of him, "Deze Prins was toen maar 17 jaaren oud, zeer woest van aard, en betoonde zich in alle zyn bedryven een zeer gevaarlyk mensch, en een groot geweldenaar te zyn." The *Mahawansa*, on the other hand, in which he is described as "a temple of wisdom and valour and virtue," has nothing but praise for his character as a most religious and meritorious ruler. (*Wijesinha's translation*, p. 276.)

[9] The French ambassador referred to here was Mon. Laisne de Nanclars de Lanerolle, according to Valentyn, "a very great and distinguished nobleman, but of the reformed religion, and therefore not much regarded by his King" (Louis XIV.). Robert Knox gives a graphic account of his arrival at the Kandyan Court, of his haughty demeanour, and its consequences. As a sequel to this it may be interesting to state that De Lanerolle never returned to his native country, but was forced to spend the rest of his life in the Kandyan territory, where he was provided with a native wife, and left Sinhalese descendants, who still bear his name.

[10] These parts of the seaboard remained the "King's territory" till the treaty of 1766 between Governor Falck and Kirti Sri Raja Sinha gave the Dutch the entire dominion over the maritime provinces.

[11] Valentyn, who appears to have been influenced by the caution offered here, omits the articles in question in the extracts he has made from these "Considerations."

[12] A translation of the "Treaty and Agreement" made between Admiral Adam Westerwold and King Raja Sinha II. on May 23, 1638, appears as Appendix B to my *Report on the Dutch Records*, 1907.

[13] Gerrit de Heere, who died at Colombo on November 20, 1702.

[14] The Government maintained a house at Wolvendaal for the accommodation and entertainment of the Kandyan ambassadors. From here they were escorted in great state to the Audience Hall in the Fort from day to dav for the negotiations.

[15] Among the records destroyed by Gerrit van Toll were the *Land Thombos* compiled by the Portuguese. It was upon these that the Dutch system of Thombos was based. Valentyn speaks of them as having been of "priceless value" to the Dutch East India Company, "as they showed what the villagers were obliged to render to the lord of the land for the property which they possessed." On the subject of the destruction of these records see *Report on the Dutch Records*, p. 3.

[16] It is no longer among the records in the Archives.

[17] Shortly after the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, by which what had formerly been the Spanish Netherlands came into the possession of the house of Austria, the Emperor Charles VI., once the Pretender to the Spanish Crown, granted commissions to Ostend traders empowering them to carry on commerce with the East Indies. These commissions were eagerly accepted by private individuals, both in England and Holland, who under the name of *interlopers* strove to appropriate a portion of the trade which had hitherto been the monopoly under State guarantees of the Dutch and English companies.—Thorold Rogers: *Holland*, p. 342.

[18] Constabel-Majoor Johan Christiaansz Toorzee, who was at the head of the Ordnance Department.

[19] The "Punt den Briel," as it was called, was a very old bastion in the fortifications of Colombo, built by the Dutch in 1676. Its site, at the back of Queen's House, is still indicated by an old gateway, one of the few relics now remaining of the old fortifications. The stone with the date 1676 may still be seen over the time-worn archway.

[20] There was a distinction between the "Political Council" and the "Council of Ceylon," although the same individuals composed the two bodies. The powers of the former were strictly limited to Colombo and the districts within its immediate jurisdiction, in the same manner as the Political Councils of Jaffnapatam and Galle were confined to those "Commandements." But, in the course of time, and probably as a matter of convenience, the Political Council of Colombo, of which the Governor was the President, appears to have assumed authority over those of the provincial capitals, and to have arrogated to itself by a tacit understanding the functions of the Council of Ceylon, which, it will be manifest, was the Supreme Council for the whole Island.

[21] See foregoing note.

[22] This list is no longer extant.

[23] These "lesser colleges" were the following:—*Stads Raad*, Town Council; *Weesmeesteren*, Orphans' Chamber; *Commissarissen der Huwelyks Zaken*, Commissioners of Marriage Causes; *Scholarche Vergadering*, School Board; *Brandmeesteren*, Superintendents of the Fire Brigade; *Wykmeesteren van Het Casteel*, Wardens of the Fort; *Wykmeesteren der Stad*, Wardens of the Town (Pettah); *Land Raad* or *Civiele Raad*, Court of small Land Causes; *Officieren der Burgery*, Officers of the Militia; *Officieren der Pennisten*, Officers of the Apprentice Clerks; *Officieren der Marinen*, Officers of the Local Marines.

[24] He was called the *Politicus Commissaris*. The practice of a member of the Government being present at the meetings of the Dutch Consistory was continued up to the early British times.

[25] The *Scholarchal* or School Board consisted of about six or seven members chosen from the leading Government Officials and Burghers. The Dessave was usually President, and one or more of the clergy always formed part of the Board.

[26] Some halo of romance had gathered round the story of the building and foundation of the Hendella Leper Asylum, to be only recently dispelled by the light thrown on the subject by the records. It was

long believed that the Asylum had been built by the daughter of a Dutch Governor, who, being herself a leper, wished to show her compassionate sympathy with her fellow-sufferers by erecting at her own private expense a hospital and asylum for the relief of such unfortunates. No names or dates were mentioned, and the whole story was surrounded by a haze of uncertainty. It was not many years ago that I first deciphered the cryptic monogram with the date 1708 sculptured on a gable over a part of the building. The letters stood for the initials of Governor Hendrick Becker, during whose administration the building was completed. It is now proved beyond doubt that the cost of construction and equipment was borne entirely by the Government, who were for some time previous concerned about the existence and spread of the dire disease in the Island. In the Minutes of the Council of Colombo of March 10, 1685, the Chief Physician to the Government is stated to have reported that there had been several cases of leprosy in the hospital, a disease which was spreading among the children of native women married to Europeans, so much so that it was feared the disease would soon attack the Europeans. As a result of this report a resolution was passed requiring the Wardens of the Castle and the Town, assisted by the Chief Physician, to hold house-to-house inspection in regard to the matter as a preliminary measure.

[27] Probably *Welisera.*

[28] *Mabodale.*

[29] This was an inventory of the Company's effects handed over by a departing Governor to his successor.

[30] South-west monsoon.

[31] North-east monsoon.

[32] Jan Arentsz Schokman. This is an illustration of the old practice of allowing a surname, usually for convenience, to get into abeyance in favour of a patronymic. In this case Jan Arentsz (*i.e.*, Arent's son) was the son of Arent Schokman.

[33] The Company's servants (*i.e.*, Government servants) were so called to distinguish them from other European inhabitants or Burghers.

[34] This diary has been translated into English and published.

[35] Plural of *martavan.* This name was given to vessels of a peculiar pottery, of very large size and glazed, which were famous all over the East for many centuries, and were exported from Martaban.—*Hobson-Jobson.*

[36] These were the officers of the Militia, composed of Europeans and European descendants who were not in the Company's service.

[37] The "town" refers to the Pettah, which, at the date of the conquest of Colombo by the Dutch in 1656, formed part of the fortified Castle or "Fort." The Dutch subsequently, between 1670 and 1680, reduced the limits of the Fort by running a line of fortifications which shut out the whole of the Pettah from the Castle.

[38] "Head Thombo." It was the part of the thombo or register which contained the names of those entitled to the lands under that of the head of the family.

[39] *Pingo* : a pliant piece of wood about 5 feet in length carried on the shoulders, from the two ends of which burthens to be carried were supported by ropes. The term is generally used to signify the whole thing, poles, ropes, burthens, and all—*Glossary of Native, Foreign, and Anglicized Words.* In this place apparently *pingo* is used to signify the substance carried.

[40] *Milagria* in Wellawatta, the parish in which St. Paul's Church, Milagria, now stands.

[41] He was the son of Governor Thomas van Rhee (1693–1697) and his wife Henrietta van Kriekenbeek.

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